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ABSTRACT

As a part of the National Study of American Indian Education, this report seeks to bring together information concerning the characteristics and problems of American Indians in Chicago. Information in the document is based on interviews and observations of Indians in the community and the schools between August of 1968 and July of 1969. Over 200 school children, 21 teachers, 4 principals, and a random sample of 378 heads of families were interviewed. A modified version of the "Index of Status Characteristics" was employed for each family, yielding socioeconomic data. The study revealed 3 distinct groups among the approximately 10,000 Indian residents in the uptown area of the city: (1) a dispersed middle-class group, who are assimilating into the general middle class; (2) a growing stable working class; and (3) an unstable lower working class group in which most of the city's Indian population falls. A positive correlation was found between educational attainment and socioeconomic position of family and was reflected in the Indian children's school attendance and achievement. (EL)

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

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Series II

No. 2

INDIANS AND THEIR EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

George D. Scott, John K. White, and Estelle Fuchs

Assisted by: Bruce Birchard
Camille Numrich
Robert J. Havighurst

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NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

The attached paper is one of a number which make up the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education.

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The Final Report consists of five Series of Papers:

I. Community Backgrounds of Education in the Communities Which Have Been Studied.

II. The Education of Indians in Urban Centers.

III. Assorted Papers on Indian Education--mainly technical papers of a research nature.

IV. The Education of American Indians--Substantive Papers.

V. A Survey of the Education of American Indians.

The Final Report Series will be available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service after they have been announced in Research in Education. They will become available commencing in August, 1970, and the Series will be completed by the end of 1970.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

In making this study of Indian children and their families in Chicago, we have had the assistance and the cordial cooperation of school administrators and teachers, and of staff members of the Indian Centers.

We are especially indebted to Dr. John Byrne, Superintendent of District 24 of the Chicago Public Schools, and to the following named principals of schools in the Uptown area of Chicago, where most of the Indian youth are pupils.

Thomas F. Coffey, Senn High School

James D. Dove, Stockton School

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Gerald Gallegher, Stewart School

Thomas McDonald, Goudy School

Lucile Saeger, Brenneman School

The interviewing and other field work in the community was facilitated by staff members of the two Centers:

The American Indian Center, Robert Rietz, Director

St. Augustine Center, Father Peter J. Powell, Director

Indians and Their Education in Chicago*

October, 1969

Chicago has a long and well documented history of waves of ethnic migration. The most recent, the spreading Black ghetto, the influx of Spanish speaking peoples, and the effects these movements have had on the older Chicago ethnic communities have captured the attention of citizens and researchers. Less visible and less well known is the small but growing number of American Indians partaking in a growing urbanization trend and confronting the myriad problems associated with life in the city.

This report seeks to bring together information concerning the characteristics and problems of the Indian ethnic minority in the City of Chicago with particular emphasis on education. It is based on interviews and observations in the community and the schools made between August 1968 and July 1969. Contacts with the Indian population of the city were made through the Chicago American Indian Center, the Chicago Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the St. Augustine Indian Center, the Chicago Board of Education,

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*This chapter was prepared by Estelle Fuchs from working papers written by George D. Scott and by John K. White.

as well as through personal contacts. In addition to observation in schools, over 200 school children, 21 teachers, and four school principals were interviewed.

Also, a descriptive inquiry of a random sample of the American Indian family population in Chicago was made. Data on Education, Employment, Family, Residence, and the problems of Urban Indians were accumulated for a sample of 378 heads of Indian families in the Chicago Metropolitan community. A modified version of the "Index of Status Characteristics" by W. Lloyd Warner, a method for indicating socioeconomic status, was employed for each family.[1] This sample was drawn mainly from persons who are members of or participants in social centers operated for and by Indians and who represent the more stable, less transient families. It cannot be considered representative of the total Indian population of Chicago. Two groups are under-represented. One is the small group of relatively high income, white-collar, and professionals, who have merged into the cosmopolitan life of the city. The other is the very large group with the lowest income, highest rate of transiency, the least stable employment and family structure. Descriptions in this report of the life styles of this latter group are based upon observation and interview.

In-Migration of Indians

Twenty years ago there does not seem to have been any one large concentration of Indians in Chicago. There were clusters scattered around the city; between Old Town and the Loop, Newr South, Maxwell Street, far to the southwest in the vicinity of the Wanzer Dairy, the St. Michael's area (north of Old Town), around 4000 West on Jackson.

These clusters were tribal only to the extent that they were composed mostly of friends and relatives. The Indians living here were mostly from Wisconsin--Chippewas and Winnebagoes--with a few from Minnesota and the Dakotas. In the last 20 years the situation has changed with a shifting of the major concentration of residence to the north side. This has also been accompanied by an increasing number moving to Chicago. While the Winnebago, Chippewa, Menominee, and Sioux are still the largest tribal groupings, there are increasing numbers of Indian people in the city from Oklahoma and the Southwest. By 1960, census figures indicated 3400 Indians in Chicago. Estimates of the numbers in Chicago today vary from 10,000 to as high as 16,000, although the lower figure is probably more accurate. That number grows smaller in the summer time when many Chicago Indians return to their rural homes.

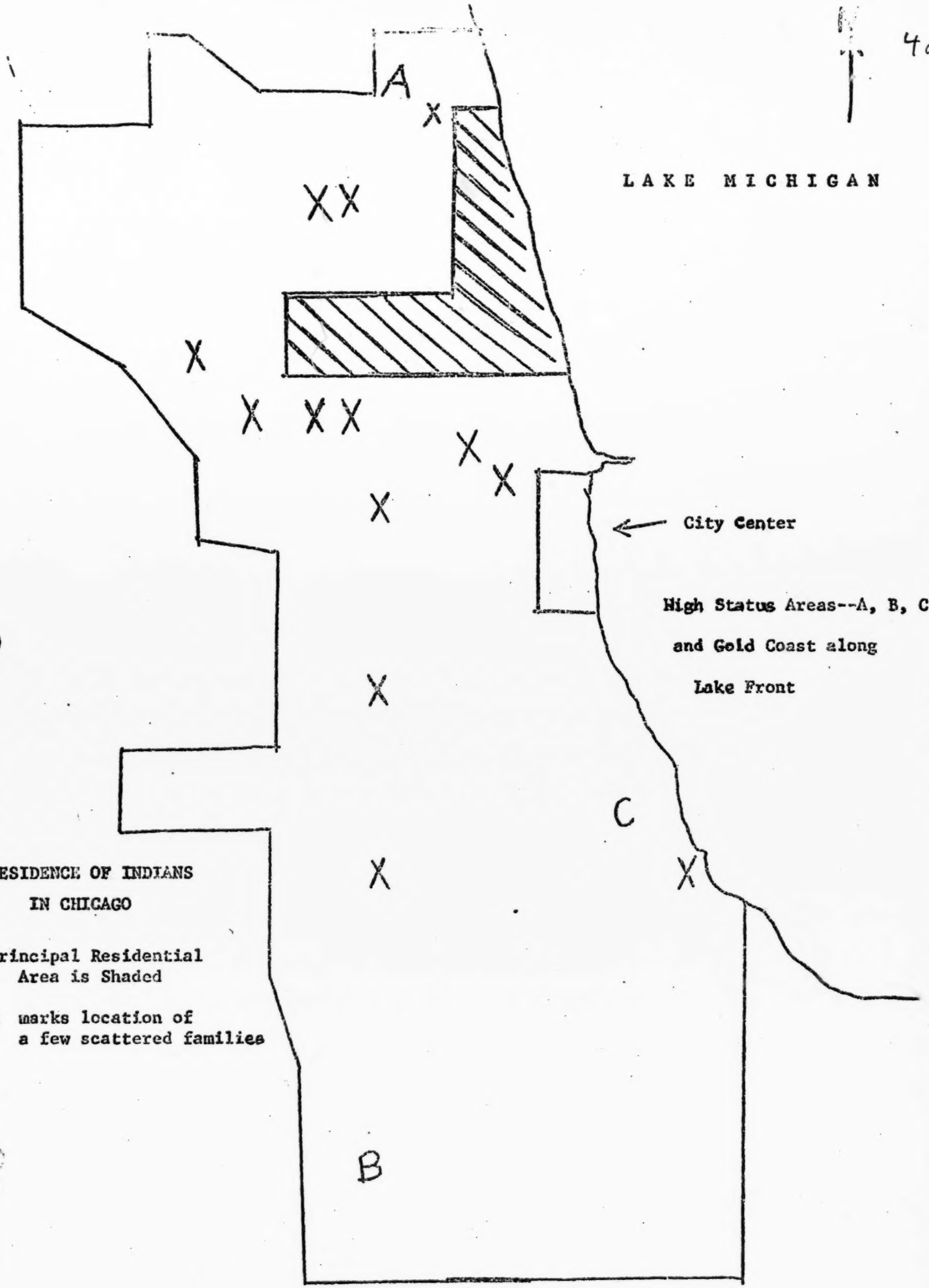
Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs has relocated a number of American Indians in Chicago, the majority did

not come under that program. Typically, a Chicago Indian moved to this city independently. He paid his own way and found himself and his family, if he had one, a place to live. Of both of these achievements, he is quite proud. The chances are that he knew someone here before he arrived, usually a friend or a relative of his own peer-group and he will often move in with these relatives or friends when he first arrives in the city. As soon as he is financially able, he moves into an apartment in the immediate vicinity.

Area of Residence

The "Port of Entry" for most is the Uptown area and it is here that the largest portion of families in the sample studied are located (see Map).

The Uptown community is about four miles north of the Chicago business district, an almost square area lying east of Ravenswood between Devon Avenue on the north and Irving Park Road on the south. Once a Jewish area, many of the older buildings are now boarding houses, transient hotels, and weekly rent apartment houses. To the east, along the lake front, are high rise apartment buildings with upper-middle class families. Since about 1950, the area away from the lake has seen a large in-migration of Appalachian Whites, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Indians and


A
LAKE MICHIGAN
City Center
High Status Areas--A, B, C
and Gold Coast along
Lake Front
C
B
RESIDENCE OF INDIANS
IN CHICAGO
Principal Residential
Area is Shaded
X marks location of
a few scattered families

Negroes.

The map shows the areas of residence for Indians in the Chicago Metropolitan area. The number of families in the south side are scattered and very small in comparison with the north side population. As the map indicates, the greatest number of families are concentrated in Uptown and Lakeview communities. As the families gain confidence about urban living, there seems to be a slight movement toward the northwest sections of the city.

Occupations and Social Conditions

The Indian population in Chicago falls into three major distinguishable groups. One of these is a dispersed middle-class group, who are assimilating into the general middle class. They live in middle class sections of the city, not in clusters. They are proud of being Indian, but do not actively participate in Indian cultural activities. There is a good deal of intermarriage with the surrounding population. This is a relatively small group and probably does not amount to more than ten per cent of the Indian population, about one hundred families.

There is, in addition, a growing stable working-class group. They have been in the city for several years and are working at semi-skilled jobs such as welding, factory assembly, stock-room, office clerks, etc. This group

tends to exhibit relative residential stability, and to keep their children in school through high school.

They tend to be interested in their tribal culture, and to maintain contact with relatives on the reservation by going back once a year for ceremonies, and sending their children back for vacations. They tend to make up the group that uses the American Indian Center, and are interested in the ideas of Indian cultural identity. It is from this group that the greatest number of families in our sample were drawn. Although it is difficult to judge accurately the size of this group, it is probably not more than twenty per cent.

By far the largest number of the city's Indian population falls into an unstable lower working-class group, which is marginal to the economy and the social structure of the big city. This group is practically anonymous and alienated in the big city. They do not have residential stability, moving within the city very frequently. In addition there is frequent movement back and forth between Chicago and a place called "home"; often a Wisconsin Indian community, and less frequently one in Minnesota or South Dakota. This group tends to prefer day-work, or to work only a few days a week. On the whole, this group does not use the resources of the Indian centers.

In terms of number it appears that about seventy per cent of Indians in Chicago belong to this group. They tend to be concentrated in the Uptown area (School District 24), though they are also present in considerable numbers south and west of the Uptown area.

Employment:

A search for jobs, for improved economic conditions, is probably the major reason Indians come to Chicago. But several factors impede the Indian as he seeks to utilize the economic opportunities of the city. City jobs make unusual demands on rural Indians and they find difficulty achieving steady employment. Most workers are unskilled or semiskilled. Skilled workmen are rare and white collar workers are almost absent from the Indian population of the North Side. To this lack of preparation for the requirements of many city jobs, is added unfamiliarity with the procedures involved in securing employment. The newly arrived migrant, in particular, is made uncomfortable by the array of application blanks, forms, and interviews entailed in getting a job. The tendency is to avoid the complexities and to seek the most convenient ways of getting employment even though these do not lead to the best jobs. In addition, there is unfamiliarity with

the various agencies, public and private, which can assist him.

The single men, in particular, seem to prefer casual labor that requires working two or three days out of the week. Piece-work jobs which enable them to earn higher wages by increased productivity in an abbreviated work week is more appealing than hourly wages. Low level jobs are typical even for those who seek more stable employment and greater integration into the economic life of the city. This was also noted in a report by Arthur M. Harkins and Richard G. Woods which stated:

> Some Indians (particularly single males) seem not to desire long-term, stable employment, preferring instead the personal freedom of casual labor. Those Indian Americans who desire "meaningful" employment may be disappointed, since their qualifications usually lead to blue-collar employment, where jobs typically do not allow much in terms of personal freedom and opportunity to exercise creativity. Communication between the Indian American and his employer is often difficult, with the result being that he does not understand what is expected of him. Distrust of non-Indians and sensitivity to criticism and ridicule appear to operate to reduce communication with the employer.[2]

An abundance of daily pay type labor employment offices have sprung up in the Uptown area and especially around Wilson and Broadway and Sheridan. Some of these employment offices charge as high as 20 per cent of the day's total pay for placing individuals in jobs and pro-

viding transportation to and from work.

The employment status of the total sample of 378 heads of households we studied also supports a picture of employment in low level jobs:

> Two heads of families (0.5 per cent) were employed full time and receive their income from profits and fees from the sales and services rendered.
>
> Sixty-two heads of families (16 per cent) were fully employed and receive their income from regular salaries based on weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly payments.
>
> Two hundred and fifty heads of families (66 per cent) were earning their income by way of wages based on an hourly rate.
>
> Forty-seven heads of families (12 per cent) were on public relief.
>
> Nine heads of families (2 per cent) were unemployed.
>
> Eight heads of families (2 per cent) were retired.

The employment status of the 378 families studied is shown in Table 1. Further insight into employment is shown by occupational categories for the total sample and Table 2 indicates that the majority of family heads are employed at what would seem to be low-paying, highly-supervised jobs. Tables 2 and 3 also indicate that the highest number of occupations are concentrated in the manual laboring jobs, with a very small number in the professional jobs.

Table 1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN FAMILIES BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment Status	Frequency	Per Cent of Total
Professional	20	5.3
Clerical	19	5.0
Skilled	16	4.2
Medium Skilled	42	11.1
Semi-Skilled	137	36.3
Unskilled	70	18.5
Welfare	47	12.4
Unemployed	9	2.4
Student	10	2.7
Retired	8	2.1
Total	378	100.0

Talbe 2. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN FAMILIES BY OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY

Occupation	Frequency	Per Cent of Total
Factory worker	82	21.7
Daily pay, Laborer	70	18.5
Craftsman, Foreman, Kindred	61	16.1
Welfare	47	12.4
Construction	31	8.2
Clerical, Sales	16	4.2
Service workers (domestic)	12	3.2
Landscaping	12	3.2
Accountants	10	2.7
Students	10	2.7
Unemployed	9	2.4
Retired	8	2.1
Professional, Semiprofessional	5	1.3
Proprietor, Manager & Official	5	1.3
Total	378	100.0

Table 3. PER CENT AND DISTRIBUTION FOR FAMILY SAMPLE BY SOURCE OF INCOME

Source of Income	Number	Per Cent
Profits or Fees	2	0.5
Salary	63	16.7
Wages	266	70.7
Welfare	47	12.4
Total	378	100.0

Work by the day and factory work represent a relatively higher per cent of employment among family heads than any other type of occupation. The daily-pay type of labor seems to effect the stability of the family units and gives rise to financial crises among the urban Indian families, adding to the new problems related to living in the city. The absence of a steady income therefore is a major problem for the urban Indian families.

Socioeconomic Status

To place the Indian families on the customary socio-economic scale, data on the 378 Chicago Indian families were obtained on the following characteristics, which are described by W. Lloyd Warner:

Source ofIncome
Residential Area
Rating of the Interior of the Dwelling Unit
Occupational Level

Each of these characteristics was rated on a scale from I to 7, by a visitor or interviewer. Occupational level and source of income can be rated from the occupation of the head of the family. The interior of the dwelling unit was rated by the visitor on the basis of a scale worked out by Warner's students. The residential area rating was obtained from a report by urban specialist Pierre de Vise which rated all the 84 local communities that make up the city of Chicago.[3] Following the procedure worked

worked out by W. Lloyd Warner and his students, the four indices were weighted 3, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. When the ratings were multiplied by these weights, there resulted a scale ranging from 12 (high status) to 84 (low status). Warner assigns scale values to socioeconomic classes as follows:

Table 4. SOCIOECONOMIC CLASSES AMONG THE INDIAN POPULATION

Category	Score	Socioeconomic Class	Number of Families	Per Cent
1	12-24	Upper	0	0
2	25-37	Upper Middle	4	1
3	38-53	Lower Middle	54	14
4	54-66	Upper Lower	229	61
5	67-84	Lower Lower	91	24

As has already been noted, this sample of Indian families cannot be taken as truly representative of the Indian population in Chicago. Probably the lowest group (category 5) is grossly under-represented in the sample.

The value of using these socioeconomic categories lies in examining their different life styles, which will be done in the next section of this chapter.

LIFE STYLES

Life styles associated with employment status range from that of the derelict through those employed in a manner similar to the white middle class.

At the lower end of the economic continuum might be a drunk lying in a Clark Street gutter, unable to do anything but beg. When the panhandling gives out he may work for a day for a day labor contractor. He will often first try for a "going south." This consists of getting a job on the far south side of the city through an employment agency, collecting the dollar travel money, and then buying a jug with it. This is considered a great sport and much skill is developed in carrying it out. The day labor contractors are not sure that Indians invented this game, but they are considered most skillful at playing it. Accounts of various "going south" coups are recited endlessly in a manner often seemingly an unconscious parody of the old warrior boasting. But neither the most skillful pantomime nor the most appreciative audience can hide the fact that it is a shallow victory indeed, that the warrior has lost his self respect.

Further up the scale are those who work more or less continuously at day labor, although with frequent stretches

of unemployment for one reason or another. Employment is obtained easily and with a minimum of involvement on the part of the worker. Here is where the day labor offices with placement and bus rides to and from work come in handy. Indians in this category will frequently be unable to peruse the want-ads and come up with an improved working situation. They know that their pay scale is low and that the contractor gets the difference, but they are often unable to better their working situation.

Language usage may be related to this. Persons with an exceedingly limited vocabulary of slang expressions can appear to be extremely fluent. "Reservation English," along with the other ethnic sub-dialects, has a restricted vocabulary as well as nuances of meaning that differ from standard English. Thus a fluent speaker of "Reservation English" will often experience a great deal of difficulty, especially at first, in understanding English as it is spoken in the city. People will "talk too fast" or "use too many big words," the latter often being taken as a "put-down." Personal interaction in most Indian communities depends on a great many subtle cues; the brusque manner in which life goes on in the big city is interpreted by many Indians as downright hostility.

Employers are usually surprised that Indians are such

good workers. They seem to prefer jobs where they are left alone with some degree of responsibility.

For this group of day laborers, consisting largely of unmarried young men, wages are strictly for current living expenses. A person will find that he can live comfortably on two or three days' wages a week and will work no more. There are occasional binges, but with nothing like the frequency seen among derelicts. With some individuals this will be a week-end affair, with others it may consist of a three or four day drunk once or twice a month. There are often spontaneous decisions to go back home for a visit, usually a matter of many hundred miles, and within an hour or so they will be on the road.

A third group presents a different picture in several respects. While some may work only through day labor contractors, they are less transient, usually working four or five days a week. Those who do work at a steady job have often found it themselves, or through friends or kin. This group will have steady work habits for most of the year, but will then take off for two or three months, usually during the summer, to go back home. For them the city is often a place of refuge for the winter months; men with families will often take their wife and children back to their home communities as soon as school is out. They will return to the city and work for a time. If any

problems develop at work concerning taking time off, they will often quit on the spot or, more frequently, just not report the next day. Persons in this group seem to have confidence in their ability to secure and hold a job for as long as they will need one.

At the high end of this continuum, are those Indians who are employed in much the same manner as other working class or middle class city dwellers. They work steadily at the same job, often with retirement benefits in mind, or they attempt to be upward mobile in their job changes. Contact is still maintained with the home community but not to the extent seen before. Vacations will often be arranged to enable the family to attend their own tribal gatherings, although frequently only some of the children will spend the entire summer with relatives in the home community. At the very end of this continuum are those individuals who have come closest to severing ties with their rural homes and with their extended kin groups.

Housing:

Housing conditions roughly parallel employment. At one end of the spectrum are those who are unable to get a place of their own. They often sleep where they find themselves; houses slated for demolition under urban renewal often have occupants at night. In general they seem to

share the way of life of other Chicago north side derelicts. They liberally share their bottle and their women with their comrades in misery. However, the nature of the Indian household often comes to their aid. There is always room for one more kinsman in the home, either to eat or sleep. As this often results in a great deal of strain, persons without housing of their own will make the rounds, leaving before they think their welcome runs out.

Several day-labor contractors have mentioned the fact that Indian alcoholics seem to be in much better physical shape than the others who come into their offices. Perhaps this is due, in part, to the fact that Indian alcoholics have solid meals more readily available to them through this traditional hospitality syndrome. Another possibility is that they have not become "hard-core alcoholics" until they arrived in the city.

One or two-room apartments converted from formerly larger apartments in rather run-down buildings are the homes of others. These rooms are often thought of as for eating and sleeping only and are outfitted accordingly. The apartments are often crammed with beds or run-down couches that can also be slept upon. Belongings are scattered around in cardboard boxes or brown paper sacks and there may be an occasional chest of drawers. It is

in this range of housing that the hospitality ethic is most obvious. The apartments are often far too overcrowded. New arrivals in the city usually move in on a brother or sister who happens to be there already. Relatives or friends who happen to be down on their luck move in. The result is that within a short time an apartment can become overcrowded to the point that its occupants are thrown out by the landlord. This seems to rank with disturbances or non-payment of rent as a prime reason for eviction. Many landlords will not rent to Indians because of this overcrowding that develops so quickly. Largely as a result of this pattern, Indians in this category are tremendously mobile. They often move very frequently, sometimes as many as four or five times a year or even more. These moves seem to be to similar housing and usually not too far away from their old apartment.

Indians are aware of the problems that result from overcrowding, but are often unable to say "no." At the same time this conflict causes them a great deal of psychological stress and strain, as well as intense physical discomfort.

Better housing conditions are also in evidence for the higher socioeconomic groups. Although apartments are very small they are kept neater and have better furnishings

than the single rooms described above. Overcrowding is not prevalent though the occupants often mention that their housing had been overcrowded when they first arrived in the city. Indians in this category often talk about dissatisfaction with the neighborhood or neighbors and seem to move to upgrade their living conditions, within the limits of their ability. Some resort to maintaining a degree of secrecy for the purpose of avoiding a deluge of relatives. They would not be able to refuse hospitality to any of their kin if they should knock on the door, but they are well aware of the consequences. Often they would have several brothers or sisters in the city but would not know where they lived, and would show embarrassment at the fact. Their apartment will physically appear the same as middle-class homes, but it will often be given up if the family decides to spend the summer back in their home community. This pattern still has a transient quality.

The more prosperous live in apartments in a much more stable manner. These apartments are larger, tend to be differentiated as to room function. At the upper end of the housing continuum people talk about the possibility of getting a one-family house or perhaps buying a two-family building. Property ownership in the city is not typical, however. In one home, a family living in the upper apartment of a two-flat had talked and debated among themselves

for some time about buying the whole property. It was finally bought by a Puerto Rican who had been in the States only two or three years. While the family was marvelling at the industrious nature of the new owner, the head of the household finally said, "Well, you know how us Indians are; we're so slow to act that other people are always getting the jump on us."

The Circle of Friendship

Cities have been said to be cold, impersonal and friendless places, even by long-time residents. To persons used to small folk communities, with the primary ties those of kinship, the seething mass of humanity is intimidating. The sheer numbers are something that take many people a long time to get used to and even then they may feel uncomfortable.

To people from a folk community neighbors are frequently kin. To those from an Indian community any neighbors who are not blood kin share a common tribal identity. The city is inhabited by strangers, and every stranger is a potential enemy. The very real threat of physical violence that exists in much of the Uptown area cannot help but strengthen the normal fears of many Indians. It is unsafe to walk the streets at night and many Uptown dwellings enter a state of seige with the setting of the sun. Any

strange knock on the door strikes fear into the hearts of those inside.

In the course of interviewing the families of Indian students in our sample it has become clear that few had any real white friends. Often whites would be mentioned who on probing would become fellow-workers, with whom the respondent would not often even eat his lunch. In fact, it is only in the higher socioeconomic level that mention was made of white friendships involving home visits and these were characteristically persons known through Indian Center activities. An exception would be an occasional Indian mother on welfare, who might exchange babysitting with a white woman in the same situation living in an adjacent apartment. Another exception is to be found among the hard-core alcoholics, some of whom even seem to avoid other Indians at times. New Indian members of Alcoholics Anonymous, for example, often state that they do not want contact with other Indian members.

We are met with a situation where the vast majority of American Indians in the city have few or no white friends. Interpersonal contacts are often confined to a quite limited number of kinsmen, old friends from the home community, or Indian neighbors. However, there is extensive visiting among them.

Children often have white friends at school, and with

whom they play, but many shift, as they grow older, to more exclusively Indian friendships. In a great many cases a pattern evolves of increased activity in Indian Center activities with several close Indian friends. Many Indian children have already gone to the Center frequently to work on their school work. Many parents express worry over the distance that they walk. Some have to take public transportation.

Taken in the context of almost exclusive Indian friendships, the use of an Indian language is very interesting. Except when older persons are present, Indian languages are generally not spoken at home. However, many middle-aged couples are able to speak their native tongue and in fact do so when they are visiting back home. When asked why they didn't speak Indian in the home, many were genuinely perplexed. While there are those who do not speak Indian around their children, for example, for a definite reason, many seem to have never really thought about it. The answers of those who could verbalize their thoughts seemed to revolve around "talking with old people" (who could not speak English theoretically) and "talking Indian when you are talking about Indian things." At any rate, many persons had a definite idea of white world English and Indian world Indian. Attempts to start up Indian language classes in the city are by and large unsuccessful.

The lack of printed material in a useable form and interpersonal conflicts over correct word forms are major disadvantages.

Children often develop strong desires to learn their tribal language as they grow older. Sometimes children pressure their parents to let them move back to their home communities so they can learn their language and traditions.

While many Indians seem to have extended their circle of friendships through associations at the American Indian Center or St. Augustine Center, the two agencies primarily organized to provide services to the Chicago Indian community, it is difficult to determine what per centage of the Indian population is involved. Estimates run from five to fifteen per cent of the total. Most of these attend a function at the Center perhaps once or twice a year. However, their children may be much more active. Many Indians will go to the Center once, have an unpleasant experience, and never return. Often Indian families will wait until they are in the midst of a crisis before they can bring themselves to ask for aid. When, after they have lowered themselves to beg, nothing is forthcoming, the experience becomes a trauma. Some persons, even several years after such an experience, will still become visibly shaken when they recount the event.

There seems to be a distinction drawn between the functions of the two centers in the minds of most Indians. St. Augustine Center is a source of aid and the Indian Center a source of social contact. This, in spite of the fact that both centers serve both functions.

It is hard to determine the extent and the exact role of the pan-Indian movement in the city. The more stable families become active in Indian Center activities and thus become part of pan-Indianism. It appears to come with a more permanent identification as city dwellers. Those whose residence in the city is of a more transitory nature are still emotionally tied to their home communities.

Many of the more traditional Indians do not attend dances at the Center because they are accustomed to their own tribal ceremonial cycle in its own particular context. Others do not because of religious scruples. Many of the Catholic Indians, for example, are more or less forbidden to participate in "pagan ceremonies" back home. This often carries over into their behavior in the city. In some cases, however, the restraints are removed by moving away from the home community. Indians who never danced before learn and become regular active attenders of Indian dances held in the city.

Kin Oriented Socializing:

One important aspect of Indian socializing in Chicago is the degree to which it becomes kin oriented. In other cases, where direct kinship does not exist, relationships are handled in an often kin-like manner. Groupings will bear a superficial resemblance to white activities, but they often become something uniquely Indian.

There are frequently parties held at local bars. These may be on the occasion of someone's birthday or anniversary, but the pretext often appears artificial. Grandchildren will have a party for their grandfather. Always an interpenetrating web of kin ties seems to lie underneath the surface. A pot-luck dinner might be held at a local YMCA. On the surface it may appear to be an ordinary interest group function, but in Indian eyes it is often a kin-oriented feast. There are clubs that appear to resemble white interest groups, such as Thursday night bowling club. Yet it does not function in the same way a white organization would. The Indians make the club a part of their family life. Those in it tend to belong to large family aggregates. They have "feeds" on the order of clan ceremonials. In a very Indian way these functions serve to strengthen and maintain the ties of kinship in an essentially impersonal city.

Mobility

For a large portion of the population, transiency is very great both within the city and between the city and "back home" on the reservation or rural areas of former residence. It is rare for an Indian child in the Uptown area to remain in the same school for his entire elementary course, as a result of this situation. Families may average one move a year. Moving may result from employment opportunity, from family problems, or inability to pay rent regularly.

Unmarried adults move much more frequently than do families. One group of three girls interviewed had moved three times in one week. Men move more frequently than women as they move from job to job.

In examining the Indian population of Chicago, one is impressed by the ease with which an individual can fade out of sight. This phenomenon, coupled with the tremendously high mobility rate, makes it extremely difficult to locate people. An agency, for example, will set up a program for 30 or 40 families, but when they get around to doing a follow-up a month or six weeks later, they will only be able to find five or six of the original number. The privacy of persons is guarded by other Indians who will tell inquirers that the family or individual has gone back home, when that family might be living close by and

known to be there. School officials attempting to trace truant pupils also have this difficulty in locating families.

The use of multiple surnames also complicates identification and location of pupils. Some children have a surname different from that of their mother. In some cases there will be three or four surnames in use by siblings and their parents. Sometimes this is due to previous marriage or to cultural factors in the naming of children. Sometimes this is a deliberate effort to evade bill collectors, or to maintain anonymity in relation to employment agencies and government agencies. The security derived from multiple identities in the city is enormous. They are the final touches to an already bewildering array of defenses against the vicissitudes of life in the city.

Health and Welfare Agencies:

Indians are, in general, more proud than other ethnic groups in accepting outside aid. They will often look for assistance only when a problem has become intensely acute. In a family in which the wage earner is injured, for example, as soon as they are able to get off welfare, they will do so. There seem to be a number of Indian women with children who are on welfare, however. Often

the amounts paid welfare recipients in Chicago is contrasted with much smaller amounts available back in their home communities.

With respect to Health Clinics, few Indians seem to use them. Those who do so often exhibit very attenuated behavior. When they come into a clinic they are very quiet. They will sit for hours waiting. They will sit and if someone gives them a form to fill out they will just sit there holding it. They seem to have a fatalistic attitude; they will come into the clinic and just wait for what is going to happen. If they are sick they have a fatalistic attitude towards their getting sick and the final outcome.

Strangely enough, although Indians will usually not take advantage of clinics, they readily take their children in for "shots." This belief in the efficacy of shots has been noted in several Indian communities.

One health educator, asked to generalize about the Indian experiences, remarked "[you] can't generalize on the Indian that comes to the clinic. Some have been here a long time, others just arrived. Some don't return after one visit, others continue. But they are all passive. Other people seem to fit into the programs; Indians just don't fit in."

One Indian, with a serious health problem, was handed

a form to fill out. After staring at it for a long while, he slowly folded it, put it into his pocket and walked out. Indians will often appear intimidated by the crowds, the large buildings, and above all, the bureaucracy.

FAMILY LIFE

The urban Indian adults in Chicago range from middle-aged people to veterans or wives of veterans of World War II, Korean War, and the Vietnam conflict. They either own no land in the home rural area or share in small portions of heirship lands. In recent years there are many young married couples also present in the urban Indian community. They usually are individuals who came to the city with their parents or on relocation and have remained for reasons of employment and attachment.

The increasing number of Indian families in the city and the shift from rural to urban patterns of life have contributed to the breaking down of local and family solidarity, and moderated the cultural differentiation that regional and reservations once fostered.

The sudden reduction of extensive dependence on a few people disrupts the values, sentiments, and interests that had been established on the reservations. These and other similar factors seem to contribute to the problems

of urban living among Indian families.

Extended family or "clan" ties are not as strongly felt as in the past, but to most Indian people, the American "nuclear family" still seems a lonely arrangement. Furthermore, the extended family constitutes the basic building block of tribal organizations. The family is still the central unit of Indian society as it has been in thepast. But family relationships have changed, and are changing with the rest of the general American population.

Most of the Indian families in the Uptown area are functioning as extended families, which typically includes parents and children, and both maternal and paternal grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins represented. In some cases if the families are not living in the same apartment they may and will try to live in the same building or adjacent buildings.

On the other hand there seems to be an increasing number of Indian families that are in a transitional stage. This change is essentially from a large-family to a small-family unit. It is a change from a group with a large number of children and often a grandparent and other relatives, with central authority exercised by the father and husband over the wife and children in the various activities of the family. It is a change to a small unit

of husband and wife, with no child or one, two, or three children with a reduction of the traditional economic, protective, educational, recreational, and religious functions, and with equality of husband and wife in a companionship type of family.

Marital Status

Information on marital status was known for 370 families in this sample. The other eight families were not included in our analysis. The other eight families were composed as follows: one was a widower; six were common-law marriages; and one was unknown.

Table 5 shows the 370-family sample by socioeconomic categories with the numbers of marital spouses, separated spouses, and divorced for each category.

Table 5. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR EACH CATEGORY BY MARITAL STATUS

Social Status Category	Frequency	Spouses United	Separated	Divorced	%
2	4	4	-	-	1.1
3	54	45	4	5	14.6
4	225	188	19	18	60.8
5	87	39	40	8	23.5
TOTAL	370	276	64	31	100.0

Table 5 indicates that out of 370 families, 276 families (75%) were functioning as a family unit, sixty-three families (17%) had spouses separated, and thirty-one families (8%) were headed by a divorced spouse.

As the socioeconomic status decreases, the degree of family disorganization increases. The most significant family disorganization is shown in Category 5 which represents the lowest socioeconomic status. Fifty-five per cent of this group were either separated or divorced and had the highest degree of separation.

Category 2

Even though the four families in this category are not a large enough group to be significant, it may be worth the time to take it under consideration. All four families in this category functioned as a nuclear family with no indication of extended family relationships. These four families seemed to have assimilated well into the general population and have pretty much cut off contact with the Indian population in Chicago. These families tend to take their Indianness lightly; it is only one of the several components of their identity.

The total number of children for the four families were six, giving this group a mean of 1.5 children per family. One family had no children; one family had one child; one

family had two children; and one family had three children.

Category 3

This category represents 54 families and made up 15 per cent of the sample. Table 5 indicates that of this group 83 per cent were functioning as a family unit while 17 per cent were disorganized by separation or divorce. This group shows a higher divorce rate than separation, and the ratio of divorce to separation decreases as the socioeconomic status gets lower.

Most of this group seem to be in a transitional stage. They are a stable working group that have been in the city for several years. When these families increase in size and income, they tend to move from smaller to larger dwellings, from mobile, family-less areas to neighborhoods where family living is the typical pattern. Further insight for this group is presented by the following:

> United families--(N-45)--had a total of 111 children, or 2.5 per family. Range--0-10.
>
> Family separated--(N-4)--had a total of 11 children, or 2.8 per family. Range--1-5.
>
> Family divorced--(N-5)--had a total of 16 children, or 3.2 per family. Range--2-5.

Category 4

Category 4 represents the largest number of families in the total sample. Table 5 also shows that the structure of the families is similar to that in Category 3.

There are probably more "extended" families represented in this group than in Category 3. This group would also show a higher portion of families who are experiencing conflict over their identity and family roles. They also seem to have a closer contact with relatives on or off reservations. The mean number of children for this group was 2.96 per family.

Category 5

Category 5 represents the lowest socioeconomic status for Indian families in Chicago. This group has the highest number of broken families (46%).

This category also has the highest number of families on public relief. They tend to use the social services of the two Indian Centers in the Uptown community: St. Augustine's and the American Indian Center. They do not have stable addresses and are highly mobile. Households of large families found in mobile areas tend to be broken families, or poor families on public welfare. They may move several times a year but mostly in the same general area. When they do work, they prefer daily-pay type

employment. These families tend to be large, with three or four children per family on the average.

In the following tables (6 and 7), comparisons are made of numbers of children for each category and marital status. Table 6 indicates that as the socioeconomic status decreases the mean number of children increases.

EDUCATION

Most of the adult Indians in Chicago have not been educated in that city. Those over the age of twenty have generally been educated in reservation or mission schools. Some have also attended public schools near the reservations. Only among the younger people are some who have received their education in urban schools. The majority have not completed a high school education. Only two college graduates were encountered in the course of this study.

Education and socioeconomic status

The data on education and economic position would seem to indicate a positive correlation between years in school and socioeconomic status. Of the 378 families in Chicago, information on educational attainment was gathered on 131 heads of household which consisted of 35% of the

Table 6. NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD BY CATEGORY

Category	N Children	N Household	Mean Value for Category
1	-	-	----
2	6	4	1.50
3	138	54	2.55
4	666	225	2.96
5	293	87	3.37
Total	1103	370	2.98

Table 7. NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD BY MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status	N Children	N Household	Mean Value
United Family	804	276	2.91
Separated	172	63	2.73
Divorced	127	31	4.10
Total	1103	370	2.98

total sample. Under Categories 3, 4, and 5, tables are presented to show years of education completed. Only the data of completed education for heads of households are presented.

Category 2

Although the sample is very small and not significant, it might be worthwhile to note that each of the heads of family had attended a college or university. Two out of four had college degrees and one held a Masters degree. The other two had two years of college and both had finished a technical business school.

Category 3

This group which represent the second highest status for Indian families in Chicago had 14% of the total sample. The total in this group was 54 and information on 38 heads of family was known; this was 70% of this category. Five out of the 38 known families had 13 years or more education but with no college degrees. Twenty-four had finished high school; one had finished the 11th grade; three the 10th grade; one the 9th; and four the 8th grade.

Table 8. EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN FAMILIES FOR CATEGORY 3

Years of Education Completed	Frequency	Per Cent of Total
0-4	-	--
5-7	-	--
8	4	11
9	1	3
10	3	8
11	1	3
12	24	63
13 and over	5	13
Total	38	100

Arithmetic Mean for 38 families was 11.6 years of education.

Category 4

This group made up 61% of the total sample. Of the 229 families in this category, information on 60 families was known.

Table 9. EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS FOR INDIAN FAMILIES FOR CATEGORY 4

Years of Education Completed	Frequency	Per Cent of Total
0-4	1	2
5-7	3	5
8	12	20
9	3	5
10	11	18
11	2	3
12	22	37
13 or more	6	10
Total	60	100

Arithmetic Mean for 60 families was 10.4 years of education.

Category 5

This group represented 24 per cent of the total sample. Information on 29 heads of household was known, out of 91 total families (32%) in this category. Table 10 gives a distribution for Category 5.

This category also has a pattern of school completion around the 8th, 10th and 12th grades, the largest group of completions being in the 10th grade (31%) and the 8th grade (28%) having the second highest. These two grade levels combined had 59% of the total sampled for this category. Only 21% had 12 years or more of education.

Table 10. EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS FOR INDIAN FAMILIES FOR CATEGORY 5

Years of Education Completed	Frequency	Per Cent of Total
0-4	1	3
5-7	2	7
8	8	28
9	2	7
10	9	31
11	1	3
12	4	14
13 or more	2	7
TOTAL	29	100

Arithmetic mean of 29 families was 9.5 years of education.

Overview:

The years of education completed for 131 out of the total sample of 378 family heads are shown in Table II.

Table II. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF ALL INDIAN FAMILIES SAMPLED

Years of Education Completed	Frequency	Per Cent of Total
0-4	2	2
5-7	5	4
8	24	18
9	6	5
10	23	18
11	4	3
12	50	38
13	17	13
Total	131	100

The weighted mean for the four categories was 10.8 years of education.

Attitudes toward Education:

A large portion of family heads indicated that it was their belief that a high school education was adequate to meet their children's needs. They also seem to feel that the sooner the young men could get out and get a job, the

better off they would be. Some expressed the belief that if the children even got through high school they would be lucky. A few family heads also had the conception that Indians, on the whole, were not capable of attaining a higher education than high school.

Of the 13 per cent of family heads that had attained 13 years or more education, most felt they had been given the opportunity from outside sources rather than from their own families. In most cases the reinforcement and influence had come from groups other than their own. Peer group support for educational achievement seems to have been absent.

Although there is the belief that a high school education can be useful and is sometimes necessary, family life styles do not always support the children in school. Kinship and family obligations frequently require the child to stay home and look after the house or younger siblings while both parents are away. Poverty also contributes to a lack of money for lunch or, especially for the older children attending high school, the lack of money to purchase appropriate clothing. Frequent moves among the more transient group, accompanied by school transfers also contribute to difficulties in school.

There is, in addition, among many the lack of trust in higher education as the key to prosperity. Some just

don't believe that Indians can get through the higher schools; some point to examples of college graduates who have hit skid row; others feel the pressure of identity with kin and peer groups and an unwillingness to be singled out as one seeking to be better or different, or "becoming a white man." There is a strong tendency for school and the resultant "improving oneself" image to be considered unimportant in Indian eyes, or even in bad form. It is putting oneself above others. Indian youth or young adults, especially after they have had some college, see the difference in values and realize just how difficult it would be for them to go back to their home communities to help improve conditions, which they would like to do. They are torn between a developing sense of altruism and a realization that estrangement from the Indian community may be a price they must pay for an education.

The urban schools have made no special effort to diagnose problems and provide programs especially for Indian children. This, combined with minimal support from families and peers, contributes to the problems faced by Indian youngsters in regard to schooling.

Schooling of Indian Children

Although over 10,000 Indians reside in Chicago, only 237 Indian pupils were found to be attending six schools located in the area of highest Indian concentration. These include five elementary schools and one high school:

Goudy	54
Stewart	41
McCutcheon	23
Brenneman	52
Stockton	48
Senn High	19

In locating Indian pupils our method was to start with children identified as Indian by teachers. There were others with non-Indian facial features, or Anglo last names who became known by their friends and classmates, or who came to us themselves and said they were Indian. Anyone with one-fourth or more Indian ancestry was included in the study.

Due to the high transiency rate in the Uptown area, the enrollment numbers for these six schools are not stable. Often, before we were able to meet, test, or interview pupils on the roster of a particular school, it was discovered that some had transferred to other schools. Senn, the only high school in the sample, had thirty-four known Indian students when the study began in October. However, when interviewing started in January, fifteen were no longer enrolled. Five of these fifteen

had transferred to Indian schools, eight had transferred to other Chicago schools, and two were not attending school. Because of the high rate of absenteeism there was also trouble locating some of the other nineteen. This difficulty in locating pupils was found in other schools as well. In Stockton, an elementary school, there are twenty-one Indian pupils between the fifth and eighth grades. Of these, five rarely attend and could not be contacted, and several of the other sixteen were also frequently absent.

The high rate of transfer and absence seems not to be characteristic of the Indian population alone, however. In Stockton, where the enrollment is over two thousand, between September and January there were approximately 1000 transfers into or out of school. The other schools in the sample also have high turnover rates.

An interesting fact is that the five elementary schools of the sample feeding into the one high school have 218 pupils in grades 1-8, while the high school had only 19 whom we could contact in grades 9-12, and of these only two were seniors. This difference may be due to an in-migration of younger parents with young children, and the predominance of a young adult Indian population in Chicago. There are 141 in grades 1-4, 77 in grades 5-8,

and 19 in grades 9-12. It also may be due in part to a high drop-out rate among Indian teen-agers.

With the first four grades we administered a Draw-a-Man test. In grades 5-12 we interviewed and administered three inventories.

Pupils:

Of the 96 pupils in grades 5-12, interviews were held with 86 pupils, varying in age from 11 to 18. Data on a sub-group of 21 pupils show the following facts.

Five lived with both parents, 11 lived with a mother, four with a step-father and a mother, and one with his father.

Students were asked about their feelings toward Indians and non-Indians (whom would you rather play with?). Ten indicated that they liked Indian and non-Indian friends equally well, eight preferred Indians, and two were more interested in non-Indian friends.

The great majority of Indian pupils expressed neutral feelings toward their teachers, or said they liked most teachers. Only three said they disliked most of their teachers.

More than half of the group said their parents' feelings toward the school were neutral. "I guess they

think it's all right." "I don't know; they don't say anything about it." The remainder were equally divided between parents who like the school and parents who don't like the school.

As for parent participation in school affairs, 16 stated that their parents never visited school or came only when requested to, and five said their parents came to special school affairs.

Knowledge of their tribal language and culture was slight. Almost all of them said they did not know their tribal language, and did not hear it at home. When asked whether they would like to learn to speak their tribal language, three-fourths expressed interest. On the other hand, most have no actual plans to do so.

Thirteen out of 21 said they know nothing of their tribal culture or history. The other eight said they know just a little about tribal history, dances, and culture. Seventeen felt that the culture was worth knowing about. The other four did not care particularly to learn about their tribal background. About half of the group felt that the school should include some study of Indian culture in a history course or in other school work. The other half felt that the school should remain neutral and not include Indian culture in school classes. The younger students

were more satisfied with what they were learning in school about Indians than were the older students.

When asked for their general attitude about the school, eight expressed negative feelings, eight thought "school is OK," and five had a more positive attitude. When questioned about their interest in school, two of the 21 said they were not interested, two more were neutral, and 16 expressed a strong interest in certain school activities and classes.

On their perception of the relation of school to adult life, 13 saw future employment as being the most important outcome of their schooling; four indicated other aspects of life for which the school aided them.

Teachers were asked to rank the students in school achievement in relation to the average class. The rankings for 128 pupils were:

Upper third	31 pupils	24 per cent
Middle third	40 "	31 " "
Lower third	57 "	45 " "

The Draw-A-Man Test

With pupils in grades 1-4 we have administered the Goodenough Draw-A-Man test, which gives an IQ score for children aged about 4 to 12. The score is a measure of attention to detail, and of mental alertness. It does not

require reading ability or artistic drawing ability. It correlates fairly well with regular intelligence tests in the case of children from the typical white homes. For this reason, it is taken as a fairer measure of mental alertness for children with a language disability than any test which requires the subject to read. Our preliminary results are as follows:

Ordinary Classes, with a mixed group of non-Indian children		Average IQ
Stockton, Grade I	N= 34	106.7
Brennemann, Grade I	N= 24 (omitting one brain-damaged child)	115.5
Indian pupils, Grades I-4		
Goudy	N= 20	110.8
Brennemann	N= 27	107.2
Stewart	N= 29	98.3*

School Adjustment:

In most grade school classrooms, Indian students were not singled out in any way by either students or teachers. Many teachers did not even know they had Indian students. Most teachers seemed to feel that "being an Indian" was not very important to their Indian pupils; at any rate, they did not make much of it.

As far as the other pupils were concerned, most did not seem to either know or care that some of their classmates were Indians--at least in the lower grades. All

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*There were three Indian children, all in one family, who tested below 70 and thus brought down the average for Stewart.

of the schools which Indians attend in Chicago are very diverse ethnically. Though the majority of the pupils are southern white immigrants ("hill-billy," as the children call them), there are also Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, other Spanish-Americans, Negroes, Orientals and a smattering of other groups. Most pupils, with some exceptions, evidently come from working-class or lower class backgrounds. Most are very transient and, according to several teachers, this leads to one of the major problems faced by a great number of children in these schools--the problem of transferring from one school to another, often in the middle of the school year. This is hard on children emotionally--they have to make new friends--and academically--as the new teacher is farther "ahead" or "behind" or simply teaching something different. Moreover, the teacher does not know the child and his problems until she has had him for some time.

As far as the Indian children themselves are concerned, there are different "kinds" of Indian pupils. Some--particularly those who are not of full Indian ancestry but including some who are--are not very conscious of being Indian. These children may be rather vague about what tribe(s) they "belong to," whether they are "full-blood" or not, etc. They do not go to the Indian Center and generally do not visit much with Indian relatives living

in Indian communities or on reservations. Most of their friends are not Indian. They simply may not have gotten to know other Indian children, or they may prefer non-Indian friends.

At the other extreme are those children who are very conscious of being Indian (and may feel that others in the school are prejudiced against them). Many of these children and young people have developed their closest friendships with other Indian youngsters at the American Indian Center. They go there for teen dances, athletics, pow-wows, to get help with homework, and, in a few cases, to get needed clothes or food. Most of these children spend part of vacations (especially summer) with Indian relatives in an Indian community. Many have learned dances. Most (with very few exceptions) do not know their tribal language, but are interested in learning it. Many of these children express hopes of leaving Chicago when they grow up to live in an Indian community. One girl is planning to quit school soon and move with two married friends to northern Wisconsin. She is extremely bitter about her school, her mother, the city, and whites in general. On the other hand, another girl, equally bitter about whites and Chicago, replied, when asked if she plans to move back to South Dakota, "Are you kidding? What could I do--bale hay?" These girls represent extremes.

Most of those in whom Indian consciousness is well developed are not so bitter toward non-Indians.

The matter of prejudice against Indians was raised by some, however, particularly the older children. Several thought that there was considerable prejudice against Indians, especially by other students. One boy reported that his brother and a friend of his had transferred to another school because they were constantly being drawn into fights. One girl reported that when she first came to her school other children called her "savage." Parents also are concerned with matters of prejudice or inter-racial problems. There are constant references to problems involving the number of Black children in a school or to the claim that "those blonde-headed kids beat up on Indians all the time." An especially traumatic occurrence seems to involve Indian children being asked if they are Negro. Sometimes a child is so mortified by this he will refuse to go back to the same school.

As noted above, although over two hundred Indian children were attending the five elementary schools studied, a long search turned up only nineteen at the high school level. Why this sharp drop in enrollment at the high school grades? Obviously some drop out of school. Some transfer to other schools, but then some transfer in as well. Some evidently go on to an Indian high school.

Two or three transferred this year to the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe. Two sisters went to Ganado in Arizona. Another girl moved to Wisconsin to live with relatives and go to school there. It is also probable that most Indian families are comparatively young ones, with few children above the age of twelve or fourteen.

All of these possibilities raise some interesting questions. If many drop out, how can schools be made more relevant, interesting, or bearable? If many transfer to all Indian schools, what does this indicate about the Indian's wishes for integration into "mainstream America"? Finally, if the Indian population is now young, should we not expect to have a substantial increase in the number of Indian pupils in high school soon, and if so, are there any special programs or ideas which might respond particularly to their needs as Indians? As of now, there are few Indians in most Chicago schools and no special programs have been developed. If the population continues to grow, the particular needs of Indian pupils in the urban setting require careful consideration.

Teachers:

Twenty-one teachers in the five elementary schools in the sample were interviewed. These teachers were chosen

because they were teachers of grades 1, 5, or 8, and had two or more Indian pupils in their classes.

Nearly all the teachers saw the Indians as a neglected minority in the city. Some saw the Indian disadvantage as primarily economic, others thought the problems were more those of adjustment to a complex and strange community. They thought the Indian children suffered from disadvantage in school due to transiency, and maladjustment of some of their parents.

Most teachers had met parents of Indian students at school "open house" or had discussed individual problems of school adjustment with parents. They felt it to be important for teachers to initiate contacts or to respond to parents who express interest in the school. One teacher thought it was desirable to insist on meeting with parents even if some responded negatively. Another saw Indian parents as afraid of the complexity of the system, and thought the teacher should make a special effort to help parents become involved with the school.

Half of the teachers felt that the parents were anxious for their children to learn. The others indicated that they didn't think parents had such an interest and that many of the students' problems in school result from a disinterested home background.

The teachers did not generally take the position that

Indian people should assimilate completely with the larger American society. In their own classrooms they felt that they should help pupils to combine both white and Indian "ways" in adapting to school and to the larger society.

The general impression made by Indian pupils on their teachers was one of good behavior, quietness, and respect for authority. About half of the teachers saw Indian pupils as especially passive or withdrawn. Many teachers mentioned a high frequency of absences on the part of Indian pupils.

When asked what Indian pupils needed most, teachers mentioned a good basic education, better reading skills, to feel their rightful place in the community ("some feel oppressed, inferior"), respect for their heritage, and better home training.

Responses to questions about what teachers felt explained the high drop-out rate were varied: lack of involvement, no encouragement, classes too crowded to give them needed attention, no support from parents, little motivation, impersonalization of education and poor basic education skills. ("They are in over their heads and can't keep up.")

Teachers reported a limited attempt to enrich curriculum with Indian material besides the usual unit in

history or on Thanksgiving. Most reported no study of contemporary Indian life included in the Social Studies program.

A few teachers favored special attention to Indians in the curriculum, "because the texts are poor," and because they might help instill pride in the Indian heritage.

With such small numbers of Indian pupils in the classes, most teachers did not think it was feasible to place emphasis in the curriculum on Indian language or culture, or to offer in-service training to teachers on Indian culture and education.

Most teachers said that the needs of Indian children were similar to those of all children. Though not very well informed about Indians in Chicago or Indians in general, and with limited experience with Indian pupils, most of the teachers were well-disposed toward Indian pupils, open-minded about them, and interested in understanding their Indian pupils better.

SUMMARY

Most of Chicago's approximately 10,000 Indian residents live in the Uptown area of the city. It is a predominantly young adult population, the greater number having recently

migrated in from rural areas in Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and, in fewer numbers, the Southwest.

There appear to be three distinguishable groups of Indians:

A. A dispersed middle-class group, who are assimilating into the general middle class. They live in middle-class sections of the city, not in clusters. They are proud of being Indian, but do not care to participate, except in a token fashion, in Indian culture activities. They are intermarrying with surrounding population and have pretty much cut themselves off from contact with the "Indian problem."

B. A growing stable working-class group. They have been in the city for several years, and are working at semi-skilled jobs such as welding, factory assembly, stock-room, office clerks, etc. One mark is their relative residential stability. Once they find a "good" neighborhood, they tend to stay there, to pay their rent regularly, send their children to school regularly, keep their children in school through high school. They may move in order to avoid a "change" in their neighborhood which brings in lower-class minority groups.

They tend to be interested in their tribal culture, and to maintain contact with relatives on the reservation, by going back once a year for ceremonies, and

sending their children back for vacations. They tend to make up the group that uses the American Indian Center. They are interested in the idea of Indian cultural identity. They may go in for the new separatist organizations now being developed.

There may be 20 per cent of the Indian population of Chicago in this stable working-class category. In Chicago, probably half of this group are married to non-Indians.

C. An unstable lower working-class group, which is marginal to the economy and the social structure of the big city. This group is practically anonymous and alienated in the big city. They do not have stable addresses. It appears that they move two or three times a year, sometimes without paying back rent. Also, they live in a high-transiency area, where there is a big turnover due partly to urban renewal projects which eliminate residences where they are likely to live.

This group tend to prefer day-work, or to work only a few days a week. The adults have a high rate of drunkenness. The children do not come to school with regularity.

This group tends to travel back and forth between Chicago and a place called "home"; often a Wisconsin Indian community, and less frequently one in Minnesota or South Dakota.

In terms of degree of Indian ancestry, the range is wide.

Families tend to be larger and the elementary schools generally have two or three "symbol families" with many children who repeat a record of poor attendance, poor achievement, truancy, and drop out after the eighth grade.

In terms of number, it appears that about 70 per cent of Indians in Chicago belong to this group. They tend to be concentrated in the Uptown area (School District 24), though they also show in considerable numbers south and west of the Uptown area.

This group do not attend the Indian Center, except for occasional attendance at pow-wows by some of the children.

On the whole, the educational attainment of the adult population is relatively low, the largest number having left school at the eighth or tenth grade level. A positive correlation is found between educational attainment and socioeconomic position.

Over two hundred elementary school children and nineteen high school children were attending schools located in the area of highest Indian population density. The low number in high school is the result of the general youth of the Indian families in Chicago as well as being a reflection of high drop-out rate and transfers to Indian schools.

Although well regarded by their teachers, many Indian children are hampered in school by the absence of strong family and peer support for education, by high transiency rates, and by the absence of special programs designed to meet their needs. In the urban school setting they tend to be merged into the ranks of the "disadvantaged" and little attention is paid to their unique characteristics as Indians.

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